

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00  
SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 TRSE-00 BIB-01 ACDA-12  
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O R 301700Z JAN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY ROME  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 269  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMCONSUL FLORENCE  
AMCONSUL GENOA  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MADRID  
AMCONSUL MILAN  
AMCONSUL NAPLES  
AMCONSUL PALERMO  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION USNATO  
USDOCOSOUTH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ROME 1823

USDOCOSOUTH FOR INTAF

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, IT  
SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS CONCLUDE CENTRAL COMMITTEE REITERATING CALL FOR  
NATIONAL EMERGENCY GOVERNMENT

REF: ROME 1754

SUMMARY. THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCI) CONCLUDED ITS  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE (CC) SESSION JANUARY 28 BY UNANIMOUSLY  
ADOPTING AN ORDER OF THE DAY APPROVING THE OPENING REPORT  
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AND THE CONCLUDING COMMENTS WHICH PARTY SECRETARY ENRICO  
BERLINGUER PRESENTED. IN HIS FINAL REMARKS BERLINGUER  
REITERATED THE PCI'S CALL FOR A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL  
EMERGENCY, STRESSED THE PARTY'S DESIRE TO AVOID EARLY  
ELECTIONS AND SUGGESTED ONCE AGAIN THE POSSIBILITY OF SOME  
MARGINS FOR POLITICAL MANEUVERING IN THE DAYS AHEAD.  
PUBLISHED SUMMARIES OF THE SPEECHES OF VARIOUS MEMBERS

OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE REVEAL LITTLE DIVERGENCE IN VIEWPOINT AND A GENERAL SENSE OF RELIEF THAT THE PARTY HAS HEEDED THE SENTIMENTS OF ITS BASE IN SEEKING TO TRANSFORM MORE AGGRESSIVELY ITS ELECTORAL SUCCESS OF JUNE 20, 1976 INTO REAL POLITICAL POWER. THE CC VOTED TO ESTABLISH A NEW CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. BERLINGUER'S SPEECH AND THE SUPPORT IT RECEIVED FROM THE CC PROBABLY STRENGTHENED HIS ROLE IN THE PCI LEADERSHIP AT THIS CRUCIAL TIME. END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING A CONCLUDING STATEMENT FROM PARTY SECRETARY BERLINGUER, THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S CC CONCLUDED A THREE-DAY SESSION JANUARY 28. AN ORDER OF THE DAY ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED THE OPENING SPEECH AND CONCLUDING STATEMENT OF BERLINGUER AND GAVE A MANDATE TO THE DIRECTORATE, TO THE SECRETARIAT AND TO THE PARTY'S PARLIAMENTARY GROUP LEADERS QUOTE TO ASSUME THE NECESSARY INITIATIVES AND TO WORK FOR A RAPID AND POSITIVE SOLUTION OF THE GOVERNMENT CRISIS. END QUOTE.

2. IN HIS CONCLUDING STATEMENT BERLINGUER REITERATED THE PARTY'S CALL FOR A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL EMERGENCY AND STRESSED REPEATEDLY THE PCI'S DESIRE TO AVOID RECOURSE TO EARLY NATIONAL ELECTIONS. SUGGESTING THAT WITHIN THE PCI POSITION THERE ARE STILL MARGINS FOR MANEUVERING, BERLINGUER UNDERLINED THAT THE PARTY DOES NOT WANT QUOTE A PIECEMEAL

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SOLUTION END QUOTE. IN HIS FINAL COMMENT, BERLINGUER DID NOT RETURN TO THE QUOTE HYPOTHESIS END QUOTE OF A NEW GOVERNMENT WITHOUT THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS (DC) WHILE HE STRESSED THAT IT IS NOW UP TO THE DC TO RESPOND TO THE DEMANDS WHICH ARE COMING FROM THE COUNTRY.

3. IN THE WAY OF CRITICISM, BERLINGUER LAMENTED THE FACT THAT THERE HAD BEEN INSUFFICIENT ATTENTION TO INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS IN THE CC PROCEEDINGS. (WE NOTE THAT ONLY FOREIGN SECTION CHIEF SERGIO SEGRE CRITICIZED THE DEPARTMENT'S JANUARY 12 STATEMENT.) BERLINGUER ALSO ADDRESSED THE PROBLEM OF CERTAIN FAILINGS IN THE PARTY IN TERMS OF ORGANIZATION, OF MOBILIZATION, AND OF ORIENTATION OF THE MASSES. SPEAKING OF A CERTAIN QUOTE DEAFNESS END QUOTE AMONG SOME PARTY WORKERS, BERLINGUER SAID QUOTE FROM THIS DEAFNESS DEPENDS, FOR EXAMPLE, A LACK OF RIGOR, A LACK OF BREADTH, A LACK OF CONTINUITY OF A POLICY OF AUSTERITY; FROM IT DERIVED AN INEXACT AND DEFORMED UNDERSTANDING BECAUSE WE HAVE NOT YET LEARNED TO FREE OURSELVES FULLY FROM CERTAIN LIMITS OF VISION OF PROBLEMS, FROM A CERTAIN CLOSED PROVINCIALISM. END QUOTE.

4. A REVIEW OF THE PUBLISHED SUMMARIES OF THE STATEMENTS  
MADE BY VARIOUS CENTRAL COMMITTEE EXPONENTS REVEALS  
VIRTUALLY NO DIVERGENCIES FROM THE VIEWS ADVANCED  
BY BERLINGUER. EVEN PARTY MAVERICKS GIORGIO AMENDOLA AND  
UMBERTO TERRACINI CLOSED RANKS BEHIND BERLINGUER AS THE  
PCI OBVIOUSLY WAS ATTEMPTING TO DISPLAY BROAD UNANIMITY  
AS IT MAKES ITS MOST DETERMINED EFFORT SINCE 1948 TO  
PARTICIPATE FORMALLY IN A NATIONAL GOVERNING COALITION.  
INTERESTINGLY, PARTY PRESIDENT LUIGI LONGO, ARMANDO  
COSSUTTA AND PIETRO INGRAO, ALL USUALLY IDENTIFIED WITH  
THE LEFT OF THE PARTY, AS WELL AS GIORGIO NAPOLITANO,  
GIANNI CERVETTI, PAOLO BUFALINI AND GERARDO CHIAROMONTE  
(VIEWED AS THE PARTY'S SECOND IN COMMAND) DID NOT PARTICIPATE  
ACTIVELY IN THE CC DEBATE. (WE HAVE SEEN AT LEAST ONE  
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REPORT THAT CHIAROMONTE WAS SICK AND CONFINED TO HIS  
HOUSE.)

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ROME 1823

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5. A REPEATED THEME OF THOSE WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE DEBATE WAS SATISFACTION THAT THE PARTY'S DIRECTORATE, AT ITS DECEMBER 7 MEETING, HAD FINALLY DECIDED TO CLARIFY ITS POSITION AND TO DEAL WITH UNCERTAINTY WITHIN PCI RANKS BY MOVING MORE AGGRESSIVELY TO TRANSFORM THE PARTY'S 1976 NATIONAL ELECTORAL SUCCESS INTO REAL POLITICAL POWER ON THE NATIONAL LEVEL. A NUMBER OF SPEAKERS, OBVIOUSLY REFLECTING SENTIMENTS OF THE PARTY BASE, MENTIONED THE NEED FOR A CLEARLY DEFINED PARTY LINE, AND THEY REFERRED TO THE PROCESS OF QUOTE WEARING DOWN END QUOTE  
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TO WHICH THE PARTY HAD BEEN SUBJECTED IN THE 18 MONTHS FOLLOWING THE 1976 ELECTIONS. AS IF TO SUM UP THE SENTIMENT OF RELIEF, ONE CC MEMBER (MARISA ROANO) SPOKE OF QUOTE THE SENSE OF LIBERATION END QUOTE FELT WITHIN THE PARTY AFTER THE RESULTS OF THE DECEMBER 7 DIRECTORATE MEETING BECAME KNOWN. FINALLY, IT IS WORTH NOTING THE VIRTUAL ABSENCE OF MENTION DURING THE DEBATE OF THE ALTERNATIVE OF MERE ENTRY INTO SOME FORM OF GOVERNING MAJORITY.

6. AFTER SUBSTANTIAL INTERNAL DISCUSSION, THE PCI LEADERSHIP PROPOSED FOR CC CONSIDERATION THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A RESEARCH CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL POLICY. THE CC APPROVED THE PROPOSAL AND ELECTED GIAN CARLO PAJETTA, GUILLANO PROCACCI AND SERGIO SEGRE TO THE PRESIDENCY OF THE CENTER. ROMANO LEDDA, UNTIL NOW CO-DIRECTOR OF THE PARTY'S WEEKLY RINASCITA, WILL BE THE SECRETARY OF THE CENTER. THE CC VOTED TO APPROVE THE NOMINATION OF FABIO MUSSI TO SUCCEED LEDDA AT RINASCITA.

7. WITHOUT DOUBT BERLINGUER EMERGED WITH HIS POWER STRENGTHENED AS A RESULT OF THE CC SESSION. BY PROPOSING A CLEARLY DEFINED COURSE OF ACTION, I.E. AGGRESSIVE PURSUIT OF A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL EMERGENCY, WHICH WITHOUT DOUBT CAPTURED THE SENTIMENTS OF THE PARTY'S BASE, BERLINGUER LEFT LITTLE ROOM FOR COUNTERPROPOSALS OR CRITICAL STATEMENTS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE CONSENSUS REFLECTED IN BERLINGUER'S SPEECH OBVIOUSLY RESULTED FROM A LONG AND TORTUOUS DEBATE AMONG THE LEADERSHIP AS IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THE POLICIES PURSUED SUBSEQUENT TO THE JUNE 20 ELECTIONS WERE NOT ADEQUATE EITHER IN TERMS OF EFFECTIVELY MOVING THE

PCI CLOSER TO A FULL ROLE IN NATIONAL POWER OR OF MAINTAINING  
COHESION AND SUPPORT AMONG THE BASE FOR THE POLICIES OF  
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THE PARTY. A NUMBER OF OBSERVERS HAVE SUGGESTED, AND WE  
AGREE WITH THE THRUST OF THEIR ARGUMENTS, THAT AS THE PCI  
DIFFICULTIES GREW, BERLINGUER'S PERSONAL POWER, BUT NOT  
HIS FORMAL POSITION AS PARTY SECRETARY, WAS REDUCED.  
IN ESSENCE, A MORE COLLEGIAL FORM OF LEADERSHIP  
IS BELIEVED TO HAVE DEVELOPED OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS.  
WITH HIS CREDENTIALS ONCE AGAIN ESTABLISHED AS BEING A  
LEADER CAPABLE OF FINDING A BROAD CONSENSUS WITHIN THE  
PARTY, BERLINGUER MUST BE SEEN AS HAVING EMERGED FROM THE  
PRESENT DEBATE WITH HIS PRESTIGE ENHANCED, ALTHOUGH WE  
WOULD SUGGEST THAT SOME OF THE INDEPENDENCE HE ONCE  
ENJOYED HAS BEEN REDUCED.

9. FINALLY, WE WOULD NOTE THAT THE PCI LEADERSHIP IS  
FANNING OUT OVER THE COUNTRY TO CONTINUE THE SERIES OF  
MEETINGS WITH THE PARTY'S RANK AND FILE MEMBERS BEGUN  
EARLIER IN THE MONTH. WHILE THE PRINCIPAL EMPHASIS WILL  
BE TO RENEW THE LEADERSHIP'S TIES TO THE BASE, THESE  
MEETINGS ALSO SERVE TO SET THE STAGE FOR THE MOBILIZATION  
OF WORKERS IN THE EVENT THAT EARLY ELECTIONS ARE HELD  
LATER THIS YEAR. AT THE VERY LEAST, THE PRESENT MORE  
MILITANT COURSE UPON WHICH THE PCI IS EMBARKED SHOULD  
SERVE TO GALVANIZE SUPPORT FROM THE PARTY'S TRADITIONAL  
SOURCES OF VOTES IN THE EVENT THAT EARLY ELECTIONS  
ARE ACTUALLY HELD. GARDNER

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** INTERIM GOVERNMENT, COMMUNISTS, CENTRAL COMMITTEE, PARTY MEETINGS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 30 jan 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
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**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
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**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Subject:** COMMUNISTS CONCLUDE CENTRAL COMMITTEE REITERATING CALL FOR NATIONAL EMERGENCY GOVERNMENT  
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**Type:** TE  
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